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THE COPY OF THE CHEŁM ICON OF MOTHER OF GOD
IN THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN KLESZTÓW.
DATING, DIRECT INSPIRATION, CULT¹

Abstract. The article is a synthetic monograph of the, so far only mentioned, copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God, which was located in the former Orthodox Church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Klesztów near Chełm. Controversies concerning the dating of the preserved paint layers of the icon were considered, which was not facilitated by the ambiguous results of the last conservation studies (1993). In this context, a detailed comparative analysis of the Klesztów icon was conducted, including with two poorly-known copies of the Chełm icon of Mother of God – namely the oil painting of Podhorce collection of Waclaw Rzewuski (1746) and the devotional engraving (1765), now in a private collection. Whilst reconstructing the cult of the copy of Klesztów, the relationship between Węgleńscy from Klesztów and Waclaw Rzewuski, the personal attitude of the latter toward the Chełm and Klesztów icons, as well as the apotropaic function attributed in the Commonwealth of Poland not only to the original, but also to its copies, worshiped by both the faithful of the Orthodox Church and the Latins, were analysed.

Key words: a copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God; Klesztów; the religious borderland of the 18th-century Commonwealth of Poland; Orthodox and Uniate church.

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In the sacristy of the former Orthodox church of the Assumption of Virgin Mary in Klesztów near Chełm there is a copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God, thus far only mentioned in the literature². The hitherto attribution and dating of the Klesztów copy³ raise serious doubts. Therefore, in the first place the image requires a study of the so-called first history of art based on the results of the last conservation (1993)⁴ and a more insightful than heretofore comparative analysis. Besides, it is worth considering the reception of the eponymous icon by the recently identified benefactors of the local Orthodox church, who incorporated the image into the new ideational program⁵.

The architecture and equipment of the Orthodox church were financed before 1772 by the then pantler or standard-bearer of Chełm, Łukasz Węgleński

² *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* (further KZSZP), vol. VIII: *Dawne województwo lubelskie*, ed. R. Brykowski, E. Smulikowska, no. 5: *Powiat chełmski*, Warszawa 1968, p. 33; K. MART, „Między Wschodem a Zachodem”. *Sztuka sakralna ziemi chełmskiej*, [in:] *Sztuka i liturgia kościoła greckokatolickiego. Katalog wystawy w 400 lecie Unii Brzeskiej*, ed. K. Mart, Chełm–Zamość 1996, p. 33; EADEM, *Ikonoğrafia chełmskiej Hodegetrii*, [in:] *Czterechsetlecie zawarcia unii brzeskiej 1596-1996. Materiały sesji naukowej zorganizowanej w Toruniu w dniach 28-29.11.1996 r.*, ed. S. Alexandrowicz, T. Kempa, Toruń 1998, pp. 161-162; В. СЛОБОДЯН, *Церкви Холмської Єпархії*, Львів 2005, p. 215. Compare unpublished materials: H. ORZECZOWSKA, *Obraz Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej. Klesztów*. Karta ewidencyjna zabytku no. 1270, 1972 (Chełm, the Delegation of the Provincial Office Protection of Monuments – further Chełm, the Delegation of PUPM); E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, *Identyfikacja obiektu po konserwacji. Madonna z Dzieciątkiem, Warszawa 17.02.1993*, [in:] E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, E. NIEWIADOMSKA, *Dokumentacja konserwatorska. Trzy obrazy z Klesztowa* [n. pag., s.l., n.d.] (Chełm, the Delegation of PUPM, 270).

³ Dimensions: 133,5×99; resin technique on a plank, see E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, *Identyfikacja obiektu*. Dimensions 140×100 given by H. Orzechowska (*Obraz Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej*, point 6), indicate that during conservation (1993) the Klesztów icon was trimmed. The authors of KZSZP (*Powiat chełmski*, p. 33) and H. Orzechowska (*Obraz Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej*, point 2), mistakenly recognized the icon technique as “oil on board”. The original Chełm icon, regarded as missing, has been relatively recently (2000) exhibited in Volyn Regional Museum in Lutsk (Луцьк, Волинський краєзнавчий музей), see W. DELUGA, *Ikona Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej. Głos w dyskusji badaczy polskich i ukraińskich*, „Восточноєвропейський археологічний журнал”, 4 (17) июль-август 2002, <http://archaeology.kiev.ua/journal/040702/deluga.htm> (12.03.2013) (the state of research).

⁴ The conservation of the icon took place as a part of major renovation of the Orthodox church, lasting from 1988, see *Archidiecezja lubelska 2006*, Lublin 2006, p. 167.

⁵ Detailed findings on the biography, the environment and the religiousness of the previously unknown founders of Klesztów, see M. LUDERA, *Łukasz Węgleński z małżonką z Rulikowskich – fundatorzy cerkwi Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Klesztowie. O stosunkach na pograniczu wyznaniowym Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.*, „Prace Historyczne. Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego” 2017 (forthcoming). The issue of the ideational program of the Klesztów Orthodox church will become the subject of a separate study.

(† 1784), and his wife, probably of Rulikowski descent⁶. Gabriel Sławiński, the author of the Klesztów frescoes (1772), immortalized the couple of benefactors in the vault of the porch, where they were portrayed as Mary monogram admirers⁷. Before conservation in 1993 the icon had been placed in the illusionistic main altar⁸ painted by Sławiński (ill. 1). Currently, in the main altar there is a newer picture of the Assumption of Virgin Mary, of identical subject as that of the painting mentioned there in an episcopal visitation in 1828⁹. However, there are reasons to believe that the founders of a new arrangement of the Orthodox church reserved the most important place in the temple for the copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God. A typical depiction of Mother of God Hodegetria holding the blessing Emanuel on her right arm is distinguished by the illusionistic, octagonal frame, giving the effect of “an icon in an icon”. Crowned heads are surrounded by nimbuses filled with gold tongues of light. Both figures wear double layer robes in a traditional colour scheme: Maria – a blue tunic and a purple maphorion and Jesus – a white chiton and a golden himation (ill. 2).

In *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce* the Klesztów icon was attributed to “A.S. Sawidłowski”, dated to 1745 and considered to have been repainted in 1835¹⁰, basing on the inscription still existing on the back of the icon, which reads as follows:

A.S. Sawidłowski pinxit.
 A.D. 1745.
 1835. Roku.
 Odnowiony F[u]nduszem Bazylego. y
 Maryanny. Małżonkow.
 Testor. Winc: Hoffman
 Pictor
 [mp]¹¹

⁶ Ibidem.

⁷ The signature with the name of the artist and the date is in the illusionistic cartouche on the wall of the nave, above the entrance to the porch.

⁸ E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, *Identyfikacja obiektu*.

⁹ Lublin, the State Archive, Chełmski Konsystorz Greckokatolicki, 359: *akta gruntowe dotyczące się cerkwi parafialnych. Dekanat dubieniecki. Parafia Klesztów*, p. 50r. The same as the current image of the Assumption of Virgin Mary appears in the photo in KZSZP, *Powiat chełmski*, ill. 61. And thus it seems, that the Klesztów icon repeatedly changed its situating in the Orthodox church.

¹⁰ KZSZP, *Powiat chełmski*, p. 33, and after it: K. MART, „Między Wschodem a Zachodem”, p. 33; EADEM, *Ikonografia*, p. 161; В. СЛОБОДЯН, *Церкви Холмської Єпархії*, p. 215.

¹¹ Quotation after the photo of the inscription on the reverse of the icon, attached to the card of the monument (see H. ORZECZOWSKA, *Obraz Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej*) and to the con-

There are some reservations as to the originality of the writing. Firstly, a cause for concern is the identical handwriting in the two parts of the inscription: with the date 1745 and 1835. The findings of the said conservation of the icon also seem to controvert the originality (i.e. the 18th-century origin) of the inscription on the back. The number 4 in the year “1745” is exactly on the jointing of the planks, and those – as was noted in the documentation¹² – have significantly dried out. In addition, the mineralogical research revealed factory pigment in the tunic of Virgin Mary, which may be indicative of 19th-century origin of this paint layer¹³.

The above conclusions were not formulated directly in the conservational documentation. However, despite enclosing a photo of the back of the icon, the conservators resigned from attributing the icon to Sawidłowski (noted: “author unknown”). Whereas, in the part of the documentation entitled *Opis inwentaryzacyjny obiektu i jego interpretacja*, the preserved paint layer was dated to the mid 18th century¹⁴. Unfortunately, it is not known on what basis, since typos and corrections made in the appendix entitled *Tabela stratygraficzna* prevent an interpretation of the results of the conservation analysis. In *Tabela*, dated to “the beginning of the 18th c.” were: the wooden panel of the icon and the oldest paint layer (no. I). The only remaining part of the latter was supposed to be the illusionistic frame revealed during conservation. The original painting was considered as “debris”, hence the two preserved paint layers (no. II and III), whose dating by the conservators is unclear, were renovated. In the original version of *Tabela*, paint layer no. II was supposed to come from “17-3-5”¹⁵ (where from this date?), and no. III – from “1835”. But then the date “1735” was deleted and replaced with... 1835. Does this mean that – according to the conservators – solely the repainting of Wincent Hoffman from 1835 remains preserved (after all, layers no. II and III were regarded as originating from the same time), and

conservation documentation, see E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, *Identyfikacja obiektu*, photo 2. Allegedly, after the same card of the monument of Orzechowska, the inscription on the reverse of the icon was quoted by K. Mart (*Ikonoğrafia*, p. 162), but falsely instead of the date „1745” she gave „1765”. The latter date does neither appear in the text of Orzechowska, nor on the enclosed photograph.

¹² E. BURSKA-SZUBARGA, *Identyfikacja obiektu*.

¹³ Ibidem. The blue tunic of Mother of God was made with the “factory ultramarine”. The remaining pigments of the image are: 1. Yellow from the nimbuses – iron oxides with white lead, 2. Red from the mantle of Mother of God – iron, lead, minium with the addition of iron oxides, 3. White from the shirt of Jesus – lead oxide, lead white. 4. The primer consists of white lead, reddish iron oxides and black.

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ The separation in the notation of the date – M.L.

only the wooden panel from “the beginning of the 18th c.” indicates the existence of an earlier version of the original painting? In this situation, it is puzzling where from the conservators took the cited ultimate dating of the Klesztów icon to “the half of the 18th c.” Workmanlike conservation analyses are necessary in order to clarify the presented issues.

At first glance, doubts as to the hitherto dating of the copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God in Klesztów are raised by the presence of the papal crowns on the heads of Mary and Jesus. They suggest the year of coronation of the original Chełm icon, i.e. 1765, as the *terminus post quem*. Krystyna Mart implied that the crowns on the Klesztów icon may have been added in the 19th century¹⁶. However, the conservation studies did not confirm this assumption. In this situation, detailed comparative analysis of the Klesztów icon with the three prints and two oil paintings may prove helpful in dating the preserved paint layer.

The Klesztów icon indeed repeats characteristic elements of the copperplate engraving of Aleksander Tarasewicz (active 1672-1727) from the third edition of Jakub Susza’s work (Zamość, 1684)¹⁷ (ill. 4, 5). This is about the location of the nimbuses of Mary and Jesus, Mary’s physiognomical type and folds of her maphorion (radially spreading over the left hand and forming symmetrical cascade on two sides of the face). However, a closer relationship links the Klesztów icon with the merely mentioned in the literature image of the Chełm icon from 1746 (signed by date), coming from the Podhorce collection of Waław Rzewuski (1706-1779)¹⁸ (ill. 3). Various, including friendly, associations of W. Rzewuski with two generations of Węgleńscy (in addition to the founder, Łukasz, also his father, Franciszek, and cousin, Wojciech Józef

¹⁶ K. MART, „*Między Wschodem a Zachodem*”, p. 33; EADEM, *Ikonografia*, p. 162.

¹⁷ Signed print of Tarasewicz, 1684 (16,5×12), [in:] J. SUSZA, *Phoenix tertiatio redivivus abo obraz starożytny Chełmski Panny i Matki Przenaświetszej, sławą swoich dzieł po trzecie ożyły*, Zamość 1684 (Chełm, Museum of the Chełm Earth – further MCE, H-757), see *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego. Wystawa sztuki sakralnej XVI-XX wieku ze zbiorów Muzeum Chełmskiego i świątyn dawnych diecezji chełmskich*, vol. II: *Katalog*, Chełm 2003, ill. 42; K. MART, [Wstęp], [in:] *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego*, pp. 30-31 (description, literature); W. DELUGA, *Ikona. Głos* (dating of the print); see the museum card with photo of the Tarasewicz's print, H-518, <http://www.muzeum.chelm.pl/zbiory2/historia/karta.php?id=196> (12.03.2013). About the general similarity of the Klesztów icon to the Tarasewicz's print mentioned K. Mart („*Między Wschodem a Zachodem*”, p. 33; EADEM, *Ikonografia*, p. 161). See also W. PAWLAK, *Jakub Susza – zapomniany świadek i historiograf bitwy pod Beresteczkiem*, [in:] *Wojny, bitwy i potyczki w kulturze staropolskiej*, ed. W. Pawlak, M. Piskała, Warszawa 2011, pp. 216-219.

¹⁸ Lwów, Lviv Museum of the History of Religion, no. inv. Ж-324, oil on silk, 191×153, see J.K. OSTROWSKI, J.T. PETRUS et al., *Podhorce. Dzieje wnętrz pałacowych i galerii obrazów*, Kraków 2001, ill. 222, see also p. 53, A.47.

Longin)¹⁹ make this relationship plausible. The Podhorce painting shows a “picture in a picture”. It depicts the Chełm icon of uncrowned (!) Mother of God held and adored by angels and putti. Over the raised icon a monogram M-A-R-I-A was painted, while below – a cartouche with a Latin dedicatory inscription (mentioning W. Rzewuski) and quadripartite escutcheon with a cardiac field, displaying some coats of arms. The convergence of details of the Klesztów icon and the Podhorce picture is astounding. Analogous is not only the physiognomical type of Mary (as in the case of the engraving by Tarasewicz), but also of Jesus. More importantly, the identity pertains also to those elements that are missing in the Tarasiewicz’s print. It is about the gold trimmings of Emanuel’s tunic (at the neck, sleeve, in the waist), gold tongues of light filling a pair of nimbuses and traditional abbreviations of Jesus’ name and of Mary’s epithet: ΙΣ ΧΣ and next ΜΡΘΥ, written in a single line (on the same height).

Papal crowns on the Klesztów icon (which slightly differ in several surviving copies of the Chełm original) were copied with greatest accuracy from a devotional print with an image of the Chełm Mother of God, published in 1765 (private property), which remains almost unknown to researchers²⁰ (ill. 6). This print, which is the title page of a two-sheet brochure with the text of “Pieśń do N. Maryi Panny Nieustannemi Łaskami słynącej w obrazie chełmskim” was probably one of those that were being distributed during the coronation ceremony²¹. At the top and bottom of the engraving are the following inscriptions:

In perpetuum Coronata Triumphat Sap. 4 V. 2
[inscription over the image of the Virgin Mary]

Effigies Beatae Vir. MARIAE apud P.P. Basil=
lianos ad Cathedram Chełmensem Resid=
miraculis clarae Solemni ritu aurea
Corona a Vaticano oblata coronatae. Aō.

1765 die 15. Septe:

[...] [a piece of engraving was torn off with the last line of the text]

¹⁹ M. LUDERA, *Lukasz Węgleński*.

²⁰ Chełm, Private archive of Paweł Wira, whom I thank for making available the reproduction of the print. Its photo is also in MCE under the signature H-588, see the museum card, <http://www.muzeum.chelm.pl/zbiory2/historia/karta.php?id=197> (13.03.2013).

²¹ T. LIPIŃSKI, *Wiadomości historyczno-numizmatyczne o koronacjach obrazów Matki Boskiej w dawnej Polsce*, „Biblioteka Warszawska” 1849, vol. 4, p. 479: „Rozdawano w kościele i na cmentarzu [...] wizerunki obrazu cudownego, na różnych materyach i na papierze wyciskane”. See also J. STEFAŃSKI, *Zarys dziejów kultu Obrazu Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej*, „Lubelszczyzna” 2 (1996), no. 3, pp. 102-103; K. MART, *Ikonoграфия*, p. 162.

On the discussed engraving and the Klesztów icon, Mother of God is surrounded by a profiled, illusionistic framing, with the proviso that it is rectangular on the print (as in the Podhorce picture), and octagonal on the Klesztów icon. Apart from the Podhorce image, the motive of framing of an image of the Chełm Mother of God did not appear in any of the 18th-century copies of the Chełm icon discussed in the literature²². There is no similar frame even in the Chełm Mother of God print, dated to the 18th century and stored in the National Museum in Warszawa²³ (ill. 7), which is akin to the said devotional figure from 1765 (in addition to details of composition see the parallelism of accompanying inscriptions and print character). The same applies to the equally similar copy of the Chełm icon from the Museum of Lublin (1798) (ill. 8). Analysis of the crowns' details and ornaments below Mary's neck on the image of Klesztów, of Warszawa, of Lublin and the graphic one from 1765 clearly indicate that the latter was the prototype for the first three.

The discussed difficulties in dating the preserved paint layer of the Klesztów icon do not allow for an unambiguous conclusion as to its chronological relationship to the Podhorce picture (which image and in what part is earlier?). The below inference is therefore hypothetical. On the one hand, the presented premises suggest that the preserved paint layer of the Klesztów icon was created after 1765. In the light of the findings of the conservators, the figure of the Virgin Mary and Jesus on the Klesztów icon are contemporary to the crowns on their heads. What is more, also the crowns' identity and the similarity of the specific motive of illusionistic frame on the Klesztów icon and the said devotional print from 1765 speak in favour of dating after 1765. On the other hand, there remains the issue of undeniable kinship between a much larger section of the Klesztów icon and the Podhorce picture from

²² See the ones mentioned by K. Mart („*Między Wschodem a Zachodem*”; *Ikonografia*; [Wstęp], p. 31, n. 111). See also P. KONDRACIUK, *Nieznane obrazy Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej w kościołach rzymskokatolickich na Zamojszczyźnie*, [in:] *Волинська ікона. Матеріали X міжнародної наукової конференції, м. Луцьк, 17-19 вересня 2003 року*, Луцьк 2003, pp. 104-106.

²³ No. inv. MNW Gr. Pol. 26054, copperplate, *Matka Boska Chełmska, In perpetuum Coronata Triumphat Sap. 4 V.* from the collection of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, see *Ikony. Przedstawienia maryjne z kolekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie. Katalog zbiorów*, ed. J. Gmurek, Warszawa 2004, pp. 78-79, ill. 10. The print was exposed in 1993. in MCE, see [W. DELUGA], *Grafika w kręgu Cerkwi prawosławnej i Kościoła Greckokatolickiego. Katalog wystawy, Muzeum Okręgowe w Chełmie*, Chełm 1993, p. 31, position 23, quoted after: K. MART, „*Między Wschodem a Zachodem*”, p. 34. Re-exhibition in 1996 in the National Library in Warszawa, see *Sztuka iluminacji i grafiki cerkiewnej. Katalog wystawy, 10-11.1996, Biblioteka Narodowa* [s.l., n.d.], p. 74, position 120 (without the photo).

1746, and the extent of this relationship cannot be reduced to following a common pattern (i.e. e.g. the original Chełm icon of Mother of God).

It seems to be a tempting hypothesis that the copy of Klesztów, freely inspired by Tarasewicz's engraving, could indeed have existed in 1745, despite the fact that the original character of the inscription with this date preserved on its reverse side raises reservations. In turn, the Podhorce image (1746) may be a repetition of the Klesztów icon before adding the papal crowns to the latter, which probably happened shortly after 1765, basing on the said devotional print from that year. In this context, what seems significant is the presence, on the Podhorce picture, of angels adoring an image identical to the Klesztów copy of the Chełm Mother of God. In this way the emphasis is on the miraculousness and the ongoing cult, perhaps primarily of the Klesztów copy and only indirectly of the original. In other words, the Podhorce image seems to confirm that the copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God was worshiped in the Orthodox church in Klesztów before 1746, and perhaps earlier. The foregoing theorem remains true, regardless of the dating of the preserved paint layer of the Klesztów icon. Even if today we are dealing with a 19th-century paint layer, (re)painting by the form is probable. Possibly on an older board.

The assumption about direct inspiration on the line Klesztów-Podhorce is authenticated by a close connection between Rzewuscy from Podhorce and Węgleńscy from Klesztów, and also by an involvement of the representatives of both families (including Franciszek, Wojciech Józef Longin, and probably also the founder, Łukasz) in the preparation and the proceeding of the coronation of the original icon. The founder's father, the then judge of Chełm F. Węgleński († 1750) was in the group that initiated preparations for the coronation of the icon during the regional council in 1738 in Chełm. Similarly as W. Rzewuski, he signed a letter to the pope in this matter²⁴. During the ceremony, the founder's cousin, Wojciech J.L. commanded the W. Rzewuski's regiment, which was also joined by Ł. Węgleński before 1777²⁵. It is interesting that from

²⁴ M. LUDERA, *Łukasz Węgleński*. About the coronation of Marian images in the Commonwealth of Poland, see A. BARANOWSKI, *Oprawy uroczystości koronacyjnych wizerunków Marii na Rusi Koronnej w XVIII wieku*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 57 (1995), no. 3-4, pp. 299-320; IDEM, *Rola rodzin magnackich w osiemnastowiecznych uroczystościach koronacyjnych na wschodnich terenach Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Sztuka ziem wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Lileyko, Lublin 2000, pp. 619-638; IDEM, *Koronacje wizerunków maryjnych w czasach baroku. Zjawisko kulturowe i artystyczne*, Warszawa [2003].

²⁵ M. LUDERA, *Łukasz Węgleński*.

1738 to 1756²⁶, i.e. in the period of creation of the Podhorce copy, the original icon of the Chełm Mother of God was being stored in the refectory of the episcopal palace in Chełm – and was therefore not widely available.

The Marian ideational program of the Klesztów Orthodox church – formulated a few years after the coronation of the Chełm icon – could be Ł. Węgleński's attempt at referring to the family tradition of special worship of the Chełm Mother of God. We are not sure about the faith professed by the Klesztów founder, but little is actually changing. Characteristic of devotion on the religious borderland of the Commonwealth of Poland in the 18th century was a cult of icons by the Latins. As such considered himself the father of the founder, F. Węgleński, who declared in his testament adherence to the "Holy Roman Catholic faith"²⁷. Certain contribution to the creation of the ideational plane for the new arrangement of the Klesztów Orthodox Church could have been made by the wife of Ł. Węgleński, since she was also portrayed in the porch. She probably was an uniat²⁸. Finally, it cannot be excluded that it was the uniate bishop of Chełm, Maksymilian Ryłło, who was particularly anxious to disseminate the cult of the Chełm Mother of God in Klesztów. The bishop reported in his work concerning the coronation of the Chełm icon that during the Swedish invasion the image had been transported to Zamość just through Klesztów²⁹. Maybe that is why the consecration of the local Orthodox church, carried out by Ryłło, was reminded to the faithful by a latin inscription perfectly exposed on a rainbow arch.

For our discussion it is finally significant, that in the latin dedicatory inscription on the analysed copy of the Chełm icon in Podhorce (1746) Mary has

²⁶ K. MART, [Wstęp], p. 31. The icon was moved because of the construction of the new architecture of the Uniate cathedral in Chełm. On September 8th, 1756 the icon was again put in the cathedral, on the wall of apse above the high altar.

²⁷ M. LUDERA, *Lukasz Węgleński* (a problem of religiousness of the Węgleńscy). The researchers often emphasise the worship of the Chełm icon by the faithful of Orthodox churches, not mentioning the equally common cult by the Latins., e.g. W. DELUGA, *Ikona Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej – palladium Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Szczelina światła. Ruskie malarstwo ikonowe. Pamięci Romualda Biskupskiego*, ed. A. Gronek, Kraków 2009, p. 70, see also p. 78: „Ikona [...] znajdowała się niegdyś w katedrze w Chełmie i cieszyła się ogromnym kultem nie tylko wśród prawosławnych, ale również u grekokatolików. Jest ona jednym z najcenniejszych zabytków bizantyńskich znajdujących się w Europie Środkowej”.

²⁸ M. LUDERA, *Lukasz Węgleński*.

²⁹ M. RYŁŁO, *Koronacja cudownego obrazu Najświętszej Maryi Panny w chełmskiej katedrze obrządku greckiego [...] odprawiona roku 1765 dnia 15 miesiąca września*, Berdyczów 1780 (Warszawa, the National Museum, no. inv. XVIII 4 SD 7015; another copy, [in:] Chełm, MCE, H-921), chapter I, par V-VI, quoted after: J. STEFAŃSKI, *Zarys kultu*, p. 102 and n. 42.

been defined as “domus huiusce protectrici”³⁰. For the host Waław this could mean Marian protection of the Rzewuscy’s household. All the more so, that others of the Rzewuski family were known for pietism towards the Chełm icon³¹. In 1768, the Podhorce picture was located in the so called Mosaic office³². This part of the residence, when Koniecpolscy lived there, was an element of “a private apartment” of the castle’s owner (the office was equipped with an annexe serving a sanitary function)³³. It is possible that the intimate nature of this small room had not changed when W. Rzewuski was residing in Podhorce. At that time, its equipment consisted of a canopy bed, and among 59 pictures – next to the dominant landscapes of a small size – there were a couple of images of Virgin Mary with Child and two personal portraits – of Waław’s wife and daughter³⁴. The presence of the considerable size image of the Chełm Mother of God suggests that W. Rzewuski practiced a specially personal cult of the original icon or first of all – as has been suggested above – its copy in Klesztów.

In the historical reception the Klesztów copy could be enriched by a patriotic purport. It seems probable that directly before and especially after the partitions of the Commonwealth of Poland, in the society intensified a conviction about the apotropaic abilities of the miraculous icon of the Chełm Mother of God. It is possible that the folk imparted a similar power as that of the original icon to its numerous repetitions in the 18th and 19th centuries³⁵. It is a known vision of the original Chełm icon as the palladium of the Commonwealth of Poland in the battle of Beresteczko (1651) and other military expeditions of kings Jan Kazimierz Waza (1609-1672) and Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1640-1673)³⁶. The common treatment of the Chełm icon as Re-

³⁰ This small fragment was read on the basis of a photograph in: J.K. OSTROWSKI, J.T. PETRUS et al., *Podhorce*, ill. 222.

³¹ A. BARANOWSKI, *Koronacje*, p. 55.

³² Kraków, The State Archiv, The Podhorce Archiv II, 65: *Inwentarz obrazów i mebli Pałacu w Podhorcach z roku 1768*, p. 27, point 9, quoted after: J.K. OSTROWSKI, J.T. PETRUS et al., *Podhorce*, p. 144: „Nad drzwiami obraz duży Najświętszej Panny Chełmskiej”.

³³ J.K. OSTROWSKI, J.T. PETRUS et al., *Podhorce*, p. 22.

³⁴ Ibidem. It is about the portraits of Anna Rzewuska and Maria Ludwika Chodkiewiczowa, see ibidem, ill. 425 and ill. XXXVI, see also p. 85, A. 204 i p. 74, A. 157.

³⁵ See n. 22; see also K. MART, [*Wstęp*], p. 31; J. STEFAŃSKI, *Zarys dziejów kultu*, ill. 2, 3, 4. First copies of the Chełm icon of Mother of God were created in the 70s of the 17th century, see W. DELUGA, *Ikona. Palladium*, p. 77.

³⁶ A. BARANOWSKI, *Koronacje*, p. 55; W. PAWLAK, *Jakub Susza*, pp. 225-228, 230, 232-233. See also W. DELUGA, *Ikona. Palladium*, pp. 76-77 – in spite of the title of the article, which was supposed to concern the function of the Chełm icon as palladium of the Common-

gina Poloniae, ensuring Polish victories was confirmed by the 17th-century sources, in particular bishop Susza's record and the work of Michał Krasuski recalled by him³⁷. In addition, Mary was praised as the military opponents' suppressor in the latin inscription accompanying the oldest copy of the Chełm icon, Tarasewicz's print in the work of Susza (1684): "Vniti Dei cum Homine unica Mater Vnitorum Thaumaturga Chełmensis. Tartarorum et Cosacorum ad Beresteckum gloriosa ac memoranda profligatrix"³⁸. A similar thread was used in a silver antependium (1720-1750) of the main altar of the Uniat cathedral in Chełm made by W. Jöde. The vision of adoration of the Chełm icon by the king and his army gathered at Beresteczko is complemented by an explicit inscription³⁹. The new cathedral was erected in Chełm as a part of preparations for the coronation of the local icon. According to the papal recommendations, for the 18th-century coronations in the Commonwealth of Poland "ancient" Marian images that played a significant role in the history of the country and were worshiped by the general public were being elected. In folk's eyes, the distinguished images could personalise Mother of God as the cause of peace in the country⁴⁰. Thus, during the coronation of the Chełm icon efforts were made to demonstrate its supra-local impact in the form that was visually attractive for a broad mass of the faithful. As was reported by bishop Ryłło, at the end of the ceremony a three-hour-long fireworks display took place, during which above the Mary name made by blue fire, „z czerwonego ognia gorzała korona, a pod imieniem Marii obraz Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej, zaś po jej bokach herby królestwa Polskiego i Ziemi Chełmskiej"⁴¹. This view was immortalized by Teodor Rakowiecki in one of his drawings⁴².

wealth of Poland, Deluga devoted only one paragraph to this issue, and most of the text is a repetition of well-known facts from the history of the icon or the iconographic findings from his own earlier studies.

³⁷ M. KRASUSKI, *Regina Poloniae, Augustissima Virgo dei Mater Maria in Regno Polonorum*, Calissiae 1669, p. 9 (Warszawa, The University Library, no. inv. XVII 1207), quoted after: W. DELUGA, *Ikona. Palladium*, p. 76 and n. 49; W. PAWLAK, *Jakub Susza*, p. 222.

³⁸ „Boga zjednoczonego z człowiekiem jedyna Matka, Chełmska Unitów Bogarodzica. Tatarów i Kozaków pod Beresteczkiem pełna chwały i godna pamięci pogromczyni”, quoted after: K. MART, [*Wstęp*], p. 30 and n. 107.

³⁹ KZSZP, *Powiat chełmski*, ill. 188-190; S. MICHALCZUK, *Srebrne antependium w kościele pokatedralnym w Chełmie*, „Roczniki Humanistyczne” 10 (1961), no. 3, pp. 95-100; W. PAWLAK, *Jakub Susza*, p. 234. See also A. BARANOWSKI, *Oprawy*, p. 307.

⁴⁰ A. BARANOWSKI, *Oprawy*, pp. 309, 318. The author emphasized in particular the role of the treaty of Karłowice with Turkey (1699).

⁴¹ M. RYŁŁO, *Koronacja cudownego obrazu*; quoted after: A. BARANOWSKI, *Rola*, p. 623.

⁴² A. BARANOWSKI, *Oprawy*, p. 308, ill. 14.

As is known, the ceremonies of Marian images' coronations were where the faithful of both the Orthodox and the Latin Church would cross paths⁴³. In this context, it is symptomatic that an apotropaic function, similar to that referred to the Klesztów copy, was referred to the copy of the Częstochowa image of Mother of God located in the Pauline church in Włodawa, which was also decorated by painter Sławiński⁴⁴. This visualizes the coincidences in the way how the Uniates and the Latins treated not only the originals (i.e. the Chełm icon and the Częstochowa image of Mother of God⁴⁵), but also copies of Marian pictures. Their everyday, perhaps less spectacular but still common, worship by the faithful of the Church and Orthodox Church was a manifestation of the typical spirituality on the religious borderland of the Commonwealth of Poland in the 18th century.

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The results of conservatory works as regards the dating of the eponymous icon have proven inconsistent. The wooden support from “the beginning of the 18th c.” may indicate the original existence of an earlier version of the painting, but without additional analyses it is impossible to ascertain which of the three datings of the preserved paint layer was considered binding by the conservators – the beginning of the 18th c., the half of that century or perhaps the year 1835. The unquestionable kinship of the image from Podhorce, particularly revered by Rzewuski, does seem to confirm that, irrespective of the dating of the preserved paint layer of the copy from Klesztów, a copy of the Chełm Mother of God icon was being adored in the local Orthodox church before 1746, and perhaps even earlier. The conducted analyses have visualised the reality of the common iconosphere⁴⁶ in the Ruthenian lands of the Common-

⁴³ A. BARANOWSKI, *Rola*, pp. 299, 309, 313.

⁴⁴ The issue of the ideational program of the church in Włodawa will be the subject of a separate study.

⁴⁵ About the approach of Orthodox communities to the Częstochowa image of Mother of God see W. DELUGA, *Ukraińskie graficzne wyobrażenia cudownych ikon maryjnych z XVII i XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Гетьман Іван Мазепа: постать, оточення, епоха*, ред. В. А. Смолій, Київ 2008, p. 322, <http://histans.com/LiberUA/Book/mazepa/19.pdf> (26.12.2014): „Poprzez dzieło Łazarza Baranowicza [1593-1694], w którym umieścił on cudowny wizerunek Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej w kanonie ikon czczonych w Cerkwi prawosławnej, wizerunek ten pojawił się również w świątyniach prawosławnych na Ukrainie, a następnie w Rosji”; W. PAWLAK, *Jakub Susza*, pp. 228-229.

⁴⁶ From the term „icon” in a general sense as picture, image (from Greek eikón), and not strictly as image being the object of worship within a liturgy and a piety of Orthodox Church.

wealth of Poland in the 18th century, where the faithful of both culture circles were gathering around miraculous images of both the Orthodox and the Latin Church, as well as around copies of such depictions.

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THE LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Klesztów, the porch of the former Orthodox Church (today Roman Catholic), the illusionistic main altar by Gabriel Sławiński, 1772, photo: M. Ludera.
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5. Aleksander Tarasewicz (activ 1672-1727), the copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God, 1684, copperplate engraving, [in:] *Phoenix tertiato redivivus abo obraz starożytny Chełmski Panny i Matki Przenaświetszey, sławą swoich dzieł po trzecie ożyły* by Jakub Susza, Zamość 1684 (Chełm, MCE, H-757), ill. after: *Do piękna nadprzyrodzonego*.
6. The devotional engraving with an image of the Chełm Mother of God from Paweł Wira's collection, 1765, photo: P. Wira.
7. The copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God, copperplate engraving from Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's collection (Warszawa, NM, no. inv. MNW Gr. Pol. 26054), 18th century (after 1765), ill. after: *Ikony. Przedstawienia maryjne*.
8. The copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God (Lublin, ML), 1798, photo: M. Ludera.

KOPIA IKONY MATKI BOSKIEJ CHEŁMSKIEJ W CERKWI W KLESZTOWIE.
DATOWANIE, BEZPOŚREDNIE INSPIRACJE, KULT

Streszczenie

Artykuł jest syntetyczną monografią dotąd jedynie wzmiankowanej kopii ikony Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej, znajdującej się w dawnej cerkwi Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Klesztowie koło Chełma. Rozważano kontrowersje dotyczące datowania zachowanych warstw malarskich ikony, czego nie ułatwiają niejednoznaczne wyniki ostatnich badań konserwatorskich (1993). W tym kontekście przeprowadzono szczegółową analizę porównawczą klesztowskiej ikony, w tym z dwiema słabo znanymi kopiami ikony Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej. Chodzi o obraz olejny z podhorreckiej kolekcji Waclawa Rzewuskiego (1746) oraz rycinę dewocyjną (1765), obecnie w kolekcji prywatnej. Rekonstruując kult kopii z Klesztowa, analizowano związki między Węgleńskimi z Klesztowa a Waclawem Rzewuskim, osobisty stosunek tego ostatniego do chełmskiej i klesztowskiej ikony, a także apotropaiczną funkcję przypisywaną w Rzeczypospolitej nie tylko oryginałowi, ale również jego kopiom, czczonym zarówno przez wyznawców Cerkwi, jak i Kościoła łacińskiego.

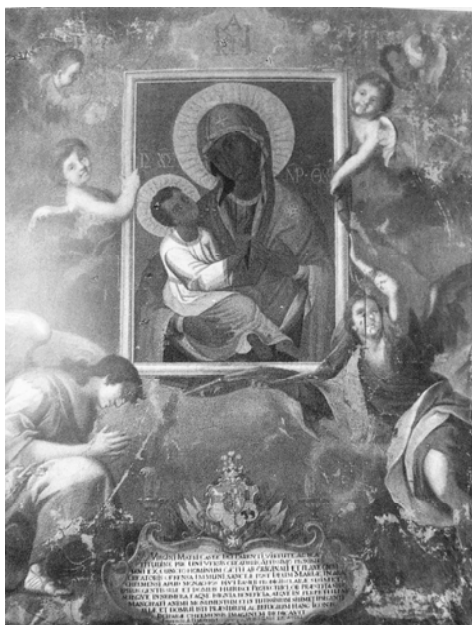
Słowa kluczowe: kopia ikony Matki Boskiej Chełmskiej; Klesztów; pogranicze wyznaniowe Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.; Cerkiew prawosławna i unicka.



III.1. Klesztów, the porch of the former Orthodox Church (today Roman Catholic)



III.2. Klesztów, the sacristy of the former Orthodox Church



Ill.3. Podhorce (today Підгірці, Ukraine), the castle of Waclaw Rzewuski, Adoration of the Chełm icon of Mother of God



Ill. 4. Klesztów, the sacristy of the former Orthodox Church, the copy of the Chełm icon of Mother of God (fragment)



Ill. 5. Aleksander Tarasewicz (activ 1672-1727), the copy of the Chelm icon of Mother of God, 1684, copperplate engraving



Ill. 6. The devotional engraving with an image of the Chelm Mother of God from Paweł Wira's collection, 1765



Ill. 7. The copy of the Chelm icon of Mother of God, copperplate engraving from Józef Ignacy Kraszewski's collection



Ill. 8 The copy of the Chelm icon of Mother of God (Lublin, ML), 1798